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The American Essayist—No. 3.
OF USURY.

Usury, according to its strict and ancient meaning, is equivalent to the word interest, or compensation for the use of money; but, in our criminal code it means an excessive interest, beyond what the law allows, and for which it punishes.

A question has been started, within a few years past, both in the United States and in England, whether the laws against usury ought to be repealed? In other words, whether there ought to be any laws restricting the rate of interest at all?

As money is avowedly an article of commerce as well as a medium of exchange, there seems no reason why the price of it should be limited any more than the price of any other article of merchandise should be limited; and as it is also susceptible of being hired or loaned out, as a horse, or a slave, or a chaise, may be hired, their appears no reasonable motive why there should be a restriction as to the amount of the hire in one case more than in the other.

Down to the reign of Henry the 8th, in the year 1546, the taking of interest for money was absolutely prohibited in England. In the time of that king an act of parliament was passed making it lawful to receive it at the rate of 10 per cent. This act was repealed in the reign of his son Edward the 6th, but the same interest of 10 per cent. was again allowed in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In the reign of James the 1st, the rate of interest was reduced to 8 per cent.; during the time of the commonwealth to 6 per cent. which rate was adopted after the restoration. In the reign of queen Anne it was reduced to 5 per cent. and ever since that period it has continued the same in Great Britain, although a higher rate is allowed in Ireland and in the British colonies.

One fact is remarkable with respect to all

these laws against usury, which is this, that whenever the law limited the rate of interest, it invariably rose higher.

Prior to the reign of Henry the 8th, notwithstanding the Christians were forbidden, the Jews were permitted, to receive interest. The reason of this distinction is to be found in history. The kings had no fixed revenues, and it was convenient to give the Jews the privilege of amassing wealth, in order that the sovereigns might extort it from them by violence. The Jews flayed the people of their wealth, and when the people complained the monarchs flayed the Jews, which quieted the popular clamor. Thus the money reached the royal coffers; and, in the middle ages, it could not have been otherwise collected. Every reader may recollect the story of the Jew of Bristol, in the reign of King John, as related by Matthew Paris. That king having once demanded 10,000 marks from this Jew, he refused, and was ordered to suffer the extraction of a tooth every day until he should comply. The Jew lost seven teeth, and then paid the sum insisted upon. This policy may have been necessary in the feudal ages, as it is at this day indispensable in Turkey, where the Grand Seigneur dares not lay a new tax, but suffers the bashaws to enrich themselves by oppressing his subjects, and then cuts off their heads and seizes on the treasure. When commerce became general throughout Christendom, however, we find that this policy yielded in some degree to the change of circumstances, and Christians, as well as Jews, were authorized to take interest; yet still in a limited degree.

It is full time that all laws against usury should be repealed by the governments of commercial nations, with one exception:—That is, a rate of interest should, by law, be provided for in cases where no contract can be produced or proved; but whenever a contract can be proved, that should decide the rate, and the law should be a nullity.

Yet, in effect, the dispute which has prevailed on this subject would seem to be an idle one. The rate of interest will, by indirect means, *fix itself* in defiance of all laws. As the price of money depends on the demand for it, on the plenty of it, and on the profitable purposes to which it may be applied, it will always be controlled, as other commodities are, by these particulars. The rate of interest will, moreover, always vary, even in the same town or city; for it is not in the na-

ture of things that a poor man should borrow money upon such easy terms as a rich one. To an individual in indigent circumstances, the rate of interest will always be high, however plenty money may be.

COMMERCE.

The following is an extract of a letter from the Agent of the Russian company in London by which it will be seen that the important reduction of 10 per cent. on all goods imported and exported from Russia has taken place. It will also be observed, that the statement which was made a few days since, with respect to rum, is confirmed, and that it is allowed entry on the same terms as other spirits.

Petersburg, Feb. 23.

"An Ukase has been issued, directing, that in the levying of duties in the different Custom houses, for the year 1819, the silver rouble shall be taken at three roubles and 60 copiques Bank notes, which make a reduction of 10 per cent. on the duties of all imports and exports, excepting on those that pay ad valorem.

"Some persons having claimed the right to pay duties on goods imported last year, and still in the Custom-house, at the new rate of 3 roubles and 60 copiques; it has been decided that the old duty shall be charged on all goods which shall have been received at any Custom-house, previous to the receipt of the present order.

"I have further to announce, that the order from the department of foreign commerce to the Petersburg Custom-house, dated 8th of Feb. has been made public authorising the importation of rum at the same duty as is levied on brandy and arrack, viz. 10 roubles per anker, (silver,) and I hope to be enabled to send a copy and translation of the Ukase by an early conveyance.

"In the meantime it is necessary to understand, that the duty on all spirits is levied according to their strength, that the lowest duty is 10 roubles per anker; and if below, and not above what is here denominated ten degrees.

"If above ten, and not above 15 degrees, is considered pure spirit, and pays 20 silver roubles per anker."

INVENTION.

MONTREAL, May 19.—A gentleman now in town, (says the Boston Daily Advertiser) is endeavoring to engage one of the steam-boats to tow a raft of timber from the mouth of the Richlieu to Quebec. The raft consists of 46 cribs which cover a surface of 54 rods long by 9 rods wide, and was towed by the Congress, a new steam boat on Lake Champlain, 41 miles in 29 hours. Five miles of the distance was accomplished against a head wind. If by the same means the timber on the border of Lake Ontario can be rafted to Kingston, it will prove an almost inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth to that part of the country.

ACCIDENT.

On Friday last the wind, which for some days had blown cold from the Northward, suddenly became southerly, and in the course of the day increased to a violent gale. Considerable anxiety was felt for the various small craft in the St. Lawrence, but happily all the batteau which were out reached the shore in safety, except one, whose fate

involved an event the most tragical perhaps that can be found in the annals of this Province.

Soon after noon two Batteaux, the one under the direction of Joseph St. Marie and the other that of Louis Brosseau started from town for the upper landings of Prairie. They were both heavily laden. The latter in particular contained 110 bushels of grain, 30 bushels of potatoes and 66 passengers. She had not proceeded many yards before she was found to be surcharged—but the conductor resolving to venture, permitted 27 of his passengers to embark with St. Marie. The batteau of the latter with great exertion and risk crossed in safety. The batteau of Brosseau followed at the distance of half a mile. She was perceived to be laboring with great obstacles which was feared were insurmountable. Alas! these fears were too well founded. She had not sooner reached the channel, (which was about 4 o'clock, P. M.) than she was struck by a heavy sea, and half filled, and before the cargo could be thrown overboard, by another which filled her. In foundering, she was by the agitation of the passengers overset. Their cries were distinctly overheard in the other batteau, whose fate was yet too uncertain to offer assistance. The batteau now upside down was soon regained by two men, (Francois Faille and Pierre Le Mieux) who seeing a woman, (Mrs. Lancto,) still struggling with the waves and imploring aid, with much difficulty and danger to themselves got her upon the bottom of the batteau. In a few minutes the rest of the wretched sufferers sunk to rise no more. The survivors upon the batteau, deluged with water and chilled with cold, floated below the island of St. Helena, where they were picked up at nine in the evening nearly exhausted. They were carried ashore, kindly treated, and the next day conducted to their friends, and it will not lessen the interest which the humane must take in this wonderful escape to learn that one of the survivors (Mrs. Lancto) has eight children and is on the point of being confined with the ninth.

Thus have perished in the bloom of their youth and the pride of their strength, thirty-six useful members of society. The morning sun saw them rise firm in health and big with hope. At night, whelmed beneath a mass of mighty waters, their dwellings are vacant, and their voices so sweet to their friends are heard no more. The Providence of God is inscrutable—"His ways are not like our ways, nor his thoughts like our thoughts."

[Here follows a list of those who perished.]

It is a circumstance in this tragedy, worthy of remembrance, that before the catastrophe, the passengers addressed themselves earnestly to prayer. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin was recited by Francois Quartier, school-master of St. Constant, and the responses were made by the passengers with the most edifying piety.

St. Constant, May 17th, 1819.

BRITISH BOUNTY ON FISH.

In our paper of Saturday, a material error in the article sent us from the city occurred, which has since been copied into other journals. It was stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had agreed to allow a bounty of 3s. per quintal on all fish cured at Newfoundland, which would amount to about 250,000*l*. We have authority to state that no such expectation has ever been held out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*London Courier.*

CAPT. BIDDLE'S DEFENCE.

*United States ship Ontario,
New-York, May 19, 1819.*

To Commodore Bainbridge, Boston.

MY DEAR SIR.—You have seen that during my late cruise, I had a correspondence with Lord Cochrane, upon the subject of a salute, in which reference was made to a ship formerly under your command. The transaction is one to which more importance has been attached than it merits; and as this unnecessary importance has arisen from misconception, permit me to relate to you all the facts, together with my view of the subject.

When I was first on my way to Chili, I often reflected upon the propriety of my saluting a flag which was not recognized by the government of the United States. I was of opinion, that it was not strictly proper; but, under all circumstances, I deemed it advisable; and, therefore, upon anchoring at Valparaiso, in January, 1813, I acquainted the Governor, that I would salute, if an equal number of guns would be returned. The Governor informed me that some troops were stationed a few leagues from town, and that they might be put in motion in consequence of any unexpected firing at the fort, that he would send off to acquaint the military officer with my arrival, and that on the following morning he would notify to me when he was prepared to return my salute, which he would do gun for gun. During the whole of the following day I was accordingly prepared to salute, and expecting every moment a message from the Governor. No message, however, did come; no salute was fired; nor was any satisfactory explanation ever made to me on the subject. The very least, therefore, I could do, under such circumstances was, to determine not to salute the fort at any subsequent visit.—Still, however, I would not omit any mark of personal civility to the Chilean officers; and, therefore, when General San Martin visited my ship, I saluted him with fifteen guns, and I saluted the Supreme Director with a like number of guns, upon his making a similar visit.

I returned from the Columbia River to Chili, with the same determination not to salute where my own offer had once been neglected; but still to cultivate friendly relations with the government wherever this point of honor was not concerned. With this disposition, on my arrival at Valparaiso, I paid a visit to the Gov. Don Luis de la Cruz, and also to Lord Cochrane, who during my absence had obtained command of the Chili squadron. Soon after visiting Lord Cochrane, I received a letter from him, in which he begged to remind me, (for the length of my services, he said, must have made me aware of the fact,) that ships of war when arriving in a friendly port, had ever been in the habit of saluting publicly; that there was only one exception within his remembrance, which was the American frigate Essex, at Gibraltar, in 1802; she abstained from saluting the flag of Lord Keith, the British Admiral; and Lord Keith felt it his duty to require the salute, or on refusal, that the Essex should forthwith quit the port, which latter alternative was embraced. The style of this letter was equally unexpected and offensive.—From a desire to conciliate, I had overcome my feelings at the neglect of my own offer to salute. I had even paid the first visit to Lord Cochrane, personally a stranger to me.—Instead of receiving a return of my visit from that officer, the first notice of it from him was a complaint of my not having first saluted him, accompanied by an intima-

tion that if I did not comply, I should be expelled the port, as the Essex had once been for a similar neglect. It was impossible not to feel the arrogance of this pretention; but I determined not to suffer it to influence my good disposition towards the government of Chili. In my answer to Lord Cochrane, therefore, I stated that I was aware it was usual, upon the arrival of a vessel of war at a foreign port, to salute publicly; that it was my knowledge of this circumstance which had induced me, upon arriving at Valparaiso, in the preceding January, to acquaint the then Governor with my arrival, and to inform him I would fire the customary salute if an equal number of guns would be returned—and that as my offer to salute was not accepted then, he would perceive the propriety of my declining to salute now. In a few hours I received a second letter from Lord Cochrane, saying he was not acquainted with the regulations of the government of the United States, and that if I would give my word of honor that it was the uniform practice of the American Commanders in Chief, without regard to comparative rank or locality, to answer with an equal number of guns the salutes of all foreign ships of war, "he would give fresh orders for my salute being so returned," but that as the practice of all other services with which he had had communication, was to return from a flag ship two guns less to the salutes of ships of war not bearing a flag of corresponding rank, his instructions hitherto had been to that effect; and that an alteration of the customary mode of proceeding, so far as regards the United States, "must be regulated by the communication I might make on the subject." The offensive style of his first letter I had not considered necessary to notice in my answer. Therefore had only replied that I declined saluting, and assigned my reasons for it: reasons which were obligatory upon me, and ought to have been satisfactory to him. My letter could not be misunderstood; and as Lord Cochrane's second communication still implied the necessity of my saluting, it was necessary not only to repeat my intention not to salute at all, but to give him to understand that I would not suffer myself to be ordered out of port. My answer, therefore, was that as I declined saluting altogether, it was not necessary to enquire whether a salute from the ship under my command should be answered by an equal or by a less number of guns; that a salute from a national vessel, upon arriving at a foreign port, was a matter of courtesy only; that it was entirely optional; that it was sometimes practised, it was oftentimes omitted; that in respect to what he mentioned of the Essex, I thought he must be misinformed, since I was persuaded that my friend, Capt. Bainbridge, who commanded the Essex, in 1802, would not have permitted himself to be ordered out of port in the manner he had stated.*

* The following extract of a letter from Commodore Bainbridge to Captain Biddle, will prove how totally without foundation is the story of Lord Cochrane:—

"On my anchoring at Gibraltar, in 1802, where Admiral Sir James Saumarez, and not Lord Keith, was the commanding naval officer; I did not salute the Admiral's flag, because it had been saluted in sight of the Essex a short time previous, by the frigate Boston, Capt. McNeil, my senior in rank. And as the Admiral did not offer to the ship under my command, the usual ceremony to ships of war, on entering a friendly port, no acquaintance took place between us during my then stay at Gibraltar."

This produced from Lord Cochrane a third letter, wherein he says, that my first letter, in which I stated that my visit to him was in my capacity of an officer of the United States, and was intended as an evidence of respect to the officer commanding the naval forces of Chili, had induced him to conceive there could be no intention of disrespect to the flag of Chili, in the omission of a salute, and the more so, as the very next sentence in that letter very candidly stated that I was aware it was usual on the arrival of a vessel of war at a foreign port, to salute publicly, and that it was my knowledge of this circumstance that had induced me upon arriving at the port in January last, to acquaint the Governor I would pay the customary salute if an equal number of guns would be returned—he desires me to judge then his astonishment on receiving my written declaration, that my letter was intended to decline saluting altogether, and that therefore it was not necessary to enquire whether a salute from the ship under my command should be answered by an equal or less number of guns. This he says is a public matter. But he desires me to judge of his private sentiments, when he finds me add that a salute from a national vessel, upon arriving at a foreign port, is a matter of courtesy only—that it is entirely optional—that it is sometimes practised—it is oftentimes omitted—he says it is ineonstitutable; that in no port of a civilized nation, are an equal number of guns returned by the power who may be saluted—that as to the incident noticed in his letter, he has not erred in fact, though he may have committed a mistake in incidental trifles—that he plainly perceives the awkward circumstances in which I am placed—that I myself could not regret them more than he did—that it would deprive him of what, previous to receiving my last letter, he should have deemed a pleasure, namely, of paying his respects to me, which now consistently he could not do, without such an explanation as shall reconcile the seeming contradiction of my public letters.

As to Lord Cochrane's private sentiments, I had as little to do with them as I had to do with his *private character*—with respect to the mode of all civilized nations of returning a salute, it was not the question between us, since, from the first, I declined saluting at all—and his regret at the awkward circumstances in which he perceives so plainly I am placed, is as ridiculous as it is vulgar.

Lord Cochrane affects to think he has convicted me of contradiction. It will, I think, be perceived he has not done so. I repeat that it is usual to salute, but as a matter of courtesy—that it is entirely optional with the man of war. Since there is no power in a government to compel a foreign man of war to salute—that a salute is sometimes practised, that it is oftentimes omitted. The opinion advanced by Lord Cochrane, that it is an insult to the flag of the port for a foreign man of war to omit to salute, is perfectly absurd—nor would any officer, conscious he himself merited any respect from others, or who

tar.—But on my return again to the Rock, Admiral Sir James Saumarez sent on board the Essex, and offered the customary civilities. I then waited on him, and a friendly intercourse followed—but no salute was given by the Essex to his flag, nor is there the least shadow of truth in my being required to salute any Admiral's flag at Gibraltar, or on non-compliance thereof to leave the port. Such a demand I should have considered absurd in the extreme."

knew the respect he owed to himself, ever make a disturbance upon such a matter. Equally absurd is it to suppose that a government has a right to order a foreign man of war out of port for omitting to salute.

Lord Cochrane speaks of the practice of all other services with which he has had communication, and says he is not acquainted with the regulations of the government of the United States—but the very circumstance, that a government has a right to regulate its own mode of answering salutes, makes it manifest that it cannot be obligatory upon a man of war to salute—that it must be optional with her to salute or not, as she sees fit.

I considered the letter of Lord Cochrane, as so vulgar and indecorous, that I could not answer it to him—and, therefore, I wrote to the Supreme Director, to acquaint him, that, upon my arrival, I had visited the Governor and the officer commanding the naval forces, and that both visits were intended as testimonies of respect towards the public functionaries of Chili; that, on the following day, the Governor had visited me on board, and I recognized in his frank deportment and prompt return of my visit, a disposition corresponding with that which I had uniformly manifested in my several visits to the port—that, with respect to the conduct of Lord Cochrane towards me, I felt a delicacy in commenting upon it to him—and, with respect to my own conduct towards Lord Cochrane, I did not deem it necessary or proper to discuss it—that these were matters for communication with my own government; and that the object of my letter, was to assure him, that upon my arrival, my conduct had been respectful towards the officers with whom I had communicated, and that I trusted he would not readily be persuaded to believe I had been wanting, in these respects, towards the officers of the government of Chili.

The commanding officer of the naval forces had now informed me that, he would not return my official visit, and had endeavored to dragoon me into saluting. It was therefore, proper, as the flag had not been treated with proper respect, that I should not remain in Valparaiso longer than was indispensable. This consideration, and this alone, determined me to relinquish my intended journey to St. Jago, to take on board the supplies necessary for the continuance of my voyage; and to sail without delay. Being ready to sail on the 30th of December, and about to get under weigh, I received a letter from Lord Cochrane, saying, that in consequence of the friendly disposition I had professed towards the government of Chili, and the ties of amity which he trusted would long subsist between the United States and that state; he had to request of me, as the officer commanding a ship of war in the port, that I would abstain from proceeding to sea until the squadron which was under sailing orders should have weighed. I answered that to enable me to say, whether it would be in my power to comply with his request, I desired he would inform me at what hour the squadron would actually sail. He replied that part of the squadron would weigh immediately, and the remainder as soon as practicable; not being later than the next evening before dark. I wrote to him, that although it was important to me to proceed to sea without delay, and I was anxious to have sailed that morning, yet, from the desire I felt to meet the wishes of the government of Chili, as far as was in my power, I had concluded to remain in port that day, but that I

would be my indispensable duty to sail the next day, and proceed upon my further destination; that I hoped the delay of a day would be sufficient; and indeed, as my destination was round Cape Horn, my sailing would not, I should think, in any manner affect the views of the squadron. It should be remarked that just as I received Lord Cochrane's first letter, requesting me to remain in port, the frigate San Martin sighted her cable, and stood out in the offing; the Chacabuco sloop of war, also stood out.—The San Martin anchored several miles out—the Chacabuco returned at night, and anchored so close to us, that I expected the two ships would get foul. In the morning the Chacabuco again got under weigh to stand out; and the San Martin was also under weigh. These manoeuvres, and the character of Lord Cochrane, induced me to believe, that there was a design to intimidate us from sailing, or to attack us, if we attempted to go to sea. I did not choose to be driven from my purpose by either of these intentions. In the morning, therefore, at 10 o'clock, having cleared ship for action, I weighed and stood out to sea, passing near the San Martin and the Chacabuco. They offered no molestation, but soon after returned into port.

The conduct of these ships satisfied me, that Lord Cochrane had no intention to endeavor to detain me by force. I had informed him the preceding day of my determination to sail—and did sail accordingly. Yet his own frigate, the Maria Isabella, made no movements, nor did the frigate Lautaro, although I got under weigh from within 100 yards of both, under a light breeze. In fact the publication in the Gazette seems conclusive on that subject. It states that as the sudden departure of the Ontario from Valparaiso had excited various rumors, the literal correspondence between the Admiral and Captain Biddle is published for the satisfaction of all. The rumors there were probably as absurd as they have been here—and to put an end to them, it is published, that difficulties had occurred between Lord Cochrane and myself about a salute; and that afterwards Lord Cochrane had requested me to remain in port, which I had declined doing, and had sailed. My own belief is, that the object of his movements was to overawe us by the force of his squadron, and induce us to remain from the fear of being attacked.

In thus leaving Valparaiso, I violated no duty whatever to the government of Chili. Lord Cochrane had no right to detain an American man of war until his ships could be ready for sea. In point of fact they did not sail until two weeks after my departure. Was I bound to delay executing the orders of my government, by wasting that much time at Valparaiso? My destination too was in a course directly opposite to that of his squadron. How then could my sailing in any way interfere with the projects of his squadron? An instance much stronger than this, had occurred in the previous December at Lima. Just as the Spanish expedition was about sailing against Chili, an English frigate was on the point of leaving Lima for the same place. The government of Lima requested her commander to defer his sailing. This he refused, because he had not been treated with proper respect in the port.—Yet, although the frigate would obviously carry, and did actually carry to Chili the first intelligence of the expedition preparing against it, yet the government of Lima made no effort to detain her by force.

With regard to personal civility, so far from receiving advances from Lord Cochrane, it will be

seen that I rather waived than insisted on rigid rules of ceremony. My own opinion of the usage on such occasions, founded on more than nineteen years experience in the navy is this: on anchoring in the foreign port where there are men of war, the man of war of the port sends an officer on board with a message of civility, and offers of assistance, &c. The commander of the foreign ship then makes a visit, which is returned by the commander of the man of war of the port—and an intercourse is thus opened, which is improved or not, according to the disposition of the parties. Although this is the most usual course, yet it is not always pursued, either from inadvertence, from an opinion that these matters are in themselves of small importance, or from a difference of sentiment as to its propriety. Sometimes a man of war, upon her arrival, sends in the first instance to the man of war of the port an offer to salute; on condition of receiving gun for gun; but this course is not frequent, nor is it, in my opinion, the most correct, though it is not in any way exceptionable.

Up to the date of my sailing from the United States, you know, we never had any regulations about salutes in the navy. But to confirm my opinion on this subject I can state, that immediately on my arrival at Rio Janeiro, an officer came on board with the compliments of the Portuguese admiral and the offer of any assistance I might want. When beating into Calloa, the Spanish commodore sent his first lieutenant on board before I had anchored, with compliments of congratulation on my arrival and offers of assistance. In this deportment I recognised the character of officers and of gentlemen. To both of them I paid a visit the day following, and my visit was in due course returned. To neither of them did I pay the compliment of firing a salute, though at both places I saluted the forts, previously ascertaining it would be returned gun for gun. Upon my arrival at Valparaiso, Lord Cochrane neither visited me himself, nor did he send on board any message of civility. Although I was not unmindful that the advances towards an intercourse between us should most properly come from him, yet I waived this consideration as not being very important, and I paid a visit to Lord Cochrane. Did he return my visit? No; but in two hours after, I received his letter reminding me of a part of my duty, which he thought I had been long enough in the navy to know, and insinuating, that if I did not fire a salute, he would turn me out of the port. Had Lord Cochrane returned my visit, and in the manner of a gentleman requested of me to salute, he might perhaps have obtained by civility what he certainly could not have extorted, for I trust I shall ever continue so much like yourself and the rest of my brother officers, as not to be dragged by Lord Cochrane or by any other lord, or by any other man, into a conduct which might bring down reproach upon our flag. In fact, had I been undecided about saluting, the very letter of Lord Cochrane, calling upon me in such a style for a salute, would have determined me to refuse it.

It has been suggested, as a motive of Lord Cochrane's conduct, that there were on board the Ontario, passengers attached to the royal cause, and also a million of dollars. The whole sum on board was two hundred and one thousand dollars received at Lima, of which \$15,000 were for Archibald Gracie and Sons, of N. York—\$15,000 for Mr. Astor of N. York—\$11,000 for Mr. Eliery, of Boston—and the remainder was shipped by individuals in Lima, and consigned to individuals in Rio Janeiro.

This circumstance could have furnished no cause of complaint, as it is customary for our ships of war, as well as those of other nations, to do so. It is sanctioned by our laws, and no doubt is entertained of its propriety. During my cruise in the Pacific, two English men of war touched at Valparaiso, having specie on board, which they were conveying from Lima to Rio Janeiro, nor was any dissatisfaction ever expressed on that account.

With regard to the passengers attached to the royal cause, they were two merchants, one lady, and one officer. To these two last, I had consented to give a passage, at the earnest solicitation of the vice king of Peru. I did so, because the vice king had yielded to my earnest solicitation for the release of two American ships, the *Beaver* and the *Canton*, and because he had, as a personal favour to myself, restored to liberty many of our unfortunate countrymen, whom I found in the prisons of Lima, for having been taken in arms against the royalists. Not to have granted so slight a request, in return for such signal favours to my fellow citizens, I should have deemed a total want of feeling and generosity—nor could I ever have anticipated, that whilst I was subjecting myself to the inconvenience of having strangers on board my ship, as a return for benefits conferred on my countrymen, I was laying the foundation of reproaches against me.

The circumstances of having a Spanish officer on board my ship, and the special reasons which induced me to receive him, are state in my detailed report of the cruise to the Secretary of the Navy, made immediately on my arrival in the U. States.

In maintaining the intercourse which my duty required with the conflicting parties in South America, it was difficult to avoid exciting the jealousy of one or both of them. Knowing the popular sentiment of this country, and seeing many of our citizens actually engaged in hostilities against them, the Royalists were particularly disposed to consider us as inimical to them. A conduct at once respectful and conciliatory towards them was due to the neutrality of our government, and was no less essential to enable myself to act with effect in procuring the release of property and persons of my fellow citizens in the power of the royal government. To this conduct I owe the success which attended my endeavours to serve my country.

Very sincerely, your friend and obedient serv't.

J. BIDDLE.

Extract from a "Narrative of a journey of 5000 miles through the Eastern and Western States of America," in 1817. By Henry B. Fearon, an Englishman.

PRESIDENT ADAMS.

The ex-president is a handsome old gentleman of eighty-four; his lady is seventy-six; she has the reputation of superior talents, and great literary acquirements. I was not perfectly a stranger here, as a few days previous to this I had received the honour of a hospitable reception at their mansion. Upon the present occasion the minister (the day being Sunday) was of the dinner party.

As the table of a "*late king*" may amuse some of you, take the following particulars:—first course, a pudding made of Indian corn, molasses and butter; second, veal, bacon, neck of mutton, potatoes, cabbage, carrots, and Indian beans; Madeira wine, of which each drank two glasses. We sat down to dinner at one o'clock; at two, nearly all went a second time to church. For tea, we had pound cake,

sweet bread and butter, and bread made of Indian corn and rye, similar to our brown home-made. Tea was brought from the kitchen, and handed round by a neat white servant girl.

The establishment of this political patriarchy consists of a house, two stories high, containing, I believe, eight rooms; of two men and three maid servants; three horses and a plain carriage. How great is the contrast between this individual, a man of knowledge and information—without pomp, parade, or vitious and expensive establishments, as compared with the costly trappings, the depraved character, and the profligate expenditure of — House, and —! What a lesson in this does America teach! There are now in this land, no less than three Cincinnati!

Description of the Burning Spring.—This may be considered a very great natural curiosity. It is situated about 68 miles above the junction of the Kenawha county, Virginia, on the land of Lawrence Washington. The water is contained in a hole in the earth, about three feet deep, and nine feet in circumference. The water is always muddy, and an air rushes out of it, which creates large bubbles on the surface, and if a blaze of fire is applied to it, takes fire with great rapidity, and burns at some times until all the water is consumed—but this does not affect the burning. It frequently continues several weeks. This water is very cold—but it is put in agitation like the boiling of a pot, by the air that rushes out of it, and it emits a strong sulphuric smell.—*News Letter.*

SOUTH AMERICA.

GEN. BOLIVAR'S SPEECH

To the Congress of Venezuela, assembled at Angostura, delivered on the 15th day of February, 1819, and 9th year of its independence.

Many ancient and modern nations have shaken off oppression, but few of them have known how to enjoy a few precious moments of freedom: very soon have they returned to their former political vices, for the people more frequently than the government bring on the tyranny. The habit of submission renders them insensible to the charms of honor and national prosperity, and leads them to regard with insensibility the glory of being free under the protection of laws dictated by their own will. The history of the world proclaims this dreadful truth.

Democracy, in my opinion, is alone susceptible of complete liberty; but, what democratical government ever united at the same time, power, prosperity, and permanency? and, on the contrary, have we not seen aristocracy and monarchy establish great and powerful empires for ages and ages? What government is more ancient than that of China? What republic has extended in duration those of Sparta and Venice? Did not the Roman empire conquer the world? Did not monarchy exist in France for fourteen centuries? What state is more powerful than Great Britain? The governments, however, of those nations, were either aristocratical or monarchial.

Notwithstanding such painful reflections, my mind is filled with joy at the great progress made by our republic in its glorious career—loving what is useful, animated by what is just, and aspiring to what is perfect. Venezuela, on separating from Spain, recovered her independence and liberty,

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her equality and her national sovereignty, constituting herself into a democratical republic, she proscribed monarchy, distinctions, nobility, charters, and privileges: she declared the rights of man, the liberty of acting, thinking, speaking, and writing. Those facts so eminently liberal cannot be sufficiently admired for the purity which gave them birth.—The first Congress of Venezuela fixed in indelible characters in the annals of our legislation, the majesty of the people as properly expressed in the social act as the fittest to form the happiness of the nation. Every feeling of my mind is required to appreciate duly the supereminent good contained in that immortal code of our rights and laws. But at the same time how shall I express myself? Shall I dare to profane with my censure the sacred tables of our laws? There are sentiments which cannot remain quiet in the breast of a man that loves his country, and which however attempted to be concealed, agitate by their violence, and which an impious face obliges him to disclose. It grieves me to think, that the government of Venezuela requires reform; and although many illustrious citizens think as I do, all do not possess sufficient boldness to state publicly their opinion in favor of the adoption of new principles, and this consideration has led me to be the first in introducing a subject of the greatest importance—although, in doing so, the act is an excessive audacity, in pretending to give advice to the counsellors of the nation.

The more I admire the excellency of the Federal Constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation; and according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North America has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion on the first appearance of danger or embarrassment. Notwithstanding which, that people is a singular example of political virtue, and moral rectitude. Liberty has been its cradle, it has grown up in liberty, and is maintained by pure liberty. I will add, that that people is unique in the history of the human race, and repeat that it is a prodigy, that a system so weak and complicated as the Federal, should have existed under so difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have occurred. However, whatever the case may be as to the government, I must say of the American people, that the idea never entered my mind of assimilating the situation and nature of two nations so distinct as the Anglo and Spanish American. Would it not be extremely difficult to apply to Spain the political, civil, and religious code of Great Britain? It would be even more difficult to adopt in Venezuela the laws of N. America. Does not the *Spirit of Laws* say, that laws ought to be suited to the people making them, and that it is a very great chance, that those of one nation will suit another? That the laws ought to bear relation to the physical state of the country, to its climate, to the quality of its soil, to its situation, to its extent, and to the manner of life of its inhabitants; having reference to the degree of liberty, the constitution can support, to the religion of the people, to their inclinations, riches, number, commerce, customs and morals.

I now present the code, which, according to my way of thinking, we ought to adopt.

The constitution of Venezuela, although founded on the most perfect principles, differed widely from that of America, in an essential point, and without doubt, the most important. The Congress of Venezuela like that of America, participates in some of the attributes of the executive Power.—

But we go further, and subdivide it by committing it to a collective body, and are consequently subject to the inconvenience of making the existence of the government periodical, of suspending and of dissolving it whenever the members separate. Our triumvirate is void, as one may say, of unity, duration, and personal responsibility; it is at times destitute of action, it is without perpetual life, real uniformity and immediate responsibility; and a government, which does not possess continuance, may be nominated a nullity. Although the powers of the President of the United States are limited by excessive restrictions, he exercises by himself alone all the functions of authority granted him by the constitution, and there can be no doubt that his administration must be more uniform, constant, and truly proper, than that of a power divided amongst various individuals, the composition of which cannot but be monstrous.

The judicial power of Venezuela is similar to that in America, indefinite in duration, temporary and not perpetual, and it enjoys all the independence necessary.

The first congress, in its Federal Constitution, consulted rather the spirit of the different provinces, than the solid idea of establishing an indivisible and concentrated republic. There sat our legislators under the influence of provincialism, carried away with the dazzling appearance of the happiness of North America, thinking that the blessings she enjoyed were owing exclusively to the form of government, and not to the character of the people. And in fact, the example of the U. States, with its progressive prosperity, was too flattering not to have been followed. Who could resist the glorious attraction of the full and absolute enjoyment of sovereignty, independence and liberty? Who could resist the admiration and esteem inspired by an intelligent government, which unites at the same moment public and private rights, which forms by general consent the supreme law of individuals? Who can resist the dominion of a beneficent government, which, with an able, active, and powerful hand, directs at all times and in all cases, all its efforts towards that social perfection which ought to be the end of all human institutions? However beautiful this magnificent federative system might appear, and in fact be, Venezuela, could not enjoy it immediately on shaking off her chains; we were not prepared for so great a good; good as well as evil, causes death when sudden and excessive; our moral constitution did not yet possess the benefits of a government completely representative, and which is so sublime when it can be adopted by a republic of Saints.

Representatives of the People!—You are convened to confirm or repeal, whatever may appear to you proper to be preserved, reformed, or expunged in our social compact. It is your duty to correct the work of our first legislators, and I would say, that to you it belongs to cover a portion of the beauties contained in our political code, for all hearts are not formed for admiring every beauty, nor all eyes capable of supporting the celestial blaze of perfection.—The Book of the Apostles, the Doctrine of Jesus, the Divine writings, sent by a gracious Providence to better mankind, so sublime, and so holy, would kindle an ocean of flame at Constantinople, and the whole of Asia, would fiercely burn, were the Book of Peace to be imposed at once as the code of religion, laws, add customs.

Permit me to call the attention of the congress to a matter which may be of vital importance: Bear

in mind that our population is neither European nor American, but is rather a compound of African and American, than of European origin, because even Spain herself is not strictly European, from her African blood, institutions, and character. It is impossible to point out with propriety to what human family we belong—the greater part of the Aborigines have been annihilated, the European has mixed with the American and with the African, and the latter has mixed also with the Indian and the European. All children of the same mother, our fathers, various in origin and in blood, are strangers, and differ all in figure and form from each other.

All the citizens of Venezuela enjoy by the constitution a political equality; and if that equality had not been a dogma in Athens, in France, and in America, we ought to confirm the principle, in order to correct the effervescence which may apparently exist. Legislators! my opinion is, that the fundamental principle of our system, depends immediately and solely on equality being established and practised in Venezuela. That men are all born with equal rights to the benefit of society, has been sanctioned by almost all the sages of every age; as has also, that all men are not born with equal capacities for the attainment of every rank, as all ought to practice virtue, and all do not so; all ought to be brave, and all are not; all ought to possess talents, and all do not. From this arises the real distinction observed amongst individuals of the most liberally established society.

If the principle of political equality be generally acknowledged, not less so is that of physical and moral equality. It would be an illusion, an absurdity to suppose the contrary. Nature makes men equal in genius, temperament, strength and character. Laws correct that difference by placing the individual in society, where education, industry, arts, sciences and virtues, give a fictitious equality properly called political and social. The union of all classes in one state is eminently beneficial, and in which diversity is multiplied in proportion to the propagation of the species. By it alone has discord been torn up by the roots, and many jealousies, follies, and prejudices avoided.

Our diversity of opinion requires a most powerful pulse, and a delicate manner for managing so heterogeneous a body, as its complicated composition may be dislocated, divided, and dissolved by the slightest change.

The most perfect system of government is that, which produces the greatest degree of happiness, of social security, and political stability.

By the laws dictated by the first Congress, we have reason to hope, that felicity will be the portion of Venezuela; and, from you we may flatter ourselves, that security and stability will render that felicity perpetual.

To you it belongs to resolve the problem, in what manner after having broken the fetters of our former oppressors, we may accomplish the wonderful feat of preventing the remains of our grievous chains being turned into the arms of licentiousness. The relics of Spanish Dominion will continue a long time before we can completely destroy them; our atmosphere is impregnated with the contagion of despotism, and neither the flame of war, nor the specific of our salutary laws, have purified the air we breathe. Our hands are indeed free, but our hearts are still suffering from the effects of servitude. Man, in losing his liberty, says Homer, loses half his spirit.

A republican government has been, is, and ought

to be that of Venezuela; its basis ought to be the sovereignty of the people, the division of power, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery, and the abolition of monarchy and privileges. We want equality for recasting, as one may say, men, political opinions, and public customs. Throwing our sight over the vast field we have to examine, let us fix our attention on the dangers we ought to avoid, and let history guide us in our career.

Athens presents us with the most brilliant example of an absolute democracy, and at the same time is a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness of that kind of government. The wisest legislator of Greece did not see his republic last ten years, and underwent the humiliation of acknowledging the insufficiency of an absolute democracy for governing any kind of society, not even the most cultivated, moral, and limited, because it shines only with flashes of liberty. Let us acknowledge then that Solon has undeceived the world, and shewn how difficult it is to govern men by simple laws.

The republic of Sparta, which appeared a chimerical invention, produced more real effects than the ingenious work of Solon, glory, virtue, morality, and consequently national happiness, were the result of the legislature of Lycurgus. Although two kings in one state were like two monsters to devour it—Sparta suffered but little from that double royalty, and Athens enjoyed the most splendid lot under an absolute sovereignty, free elections of magistrates frequently renewed, mild, wise, and politic laws. Pisistratus, an usurper and a despot, did more good to Athens than her laws; and Pericles, altho' an usurper likewise, was the most useful citizen.

The republic of Thebes existed only during the lives of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, for it is men, and not principles, that form governments. However wise codes, systems, and statutes may be, they have but little influence on society; it is virtuous, patriotic, and enlightened men that constitute republics.

The Roman constitution was that which produced the greatest power and fortune to any people on earth; in it there was no exact distribution of power.

The consuls, the senate, and the people were legislators, magistrates, and judges, they all participated in all those offices. The executive, consisting of two consuls had the same inconvenience as that of Sparta, and yet notwithstanding its deformity, the republic did not suffer that mischievous discordance, which might be supposed inseparable from a magistracy, consisting of two individuals endowed equally with the powers of a monarch. A government whose sole inclination was war and conquest, did not appear likely to establish the happiness of the people. A government morstuous in itself, and purely warlike raised Rome to the highest pitch of virtue and glory, and formed of the world a Roman empire, proving to mankind the force of political virtues, and the trivial influence of institutions.

Passing from ancient to modern times, we find England and France deserving general attention, and giving impressive lessons, in every species of government. The revolutions in those two great states, like brilliant meteors, have filled the world with so great a profusion of political light, that every thinking being has learned what are the rights and duties of man; in what the excellency of governments consists, and in what their vices; all know how to appreciate the intrinsic value of the theoretical speculations of modern philosophers and legislators. In short, this star in its brilliant course inflamed even the apathetic Spaniards, who also

entering the political whirlwind gave ephemeral proof of liberty, and have shewn their incapacity of living under the mild dominion of the law, by returning after a short blaze to their original bondage.

Legislators!—This is the proper time for repeating what the eloquent Volney says in his dedication to the ruins of Palmyra—"To the growing people of the Spanish Indies—to the generous chiefs who conduct them to liberty—may the errors and misfortunes of the old world, teach wisdom and happiness to the new."—May they never lose themselves, but the lessons of experience given in the schools of Greece, of Rome, of France, of England, and of America, and be instructed by them in the difficult science of establishing and preserving nations with proper, just, legitimate, and above all useful laws; never forgetting that the excellency of a government does not consist in its theory, form, or mechanism, but in being fitted to the nature and character of the people for which it was instituted.

Rome and Great Britain are the nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns. Both were born to command and be free, and yet neither had constitutions modelled in liberty's most brilliant form, but solid establishments; and on that account therefore I recommend to you, representatives, the study of the British constitution, which appears to be one destined to produce the greatest possible effect on the people adopting it; but perfect as it may be, I am very far at the same time, from proposing a servile imitation of it. When I speak of the British constitution, I refer solely to the democratical part of it, and in truth it may be denominated, a monarchy in system, in which is acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, the division and equilibrium of power, civil freedom, liberty of conscience, and of the press, and every thing that is sublime in politics. A greater degree of liberty cannot be enjoyed in any kind of republic, and it may indeed claim a higher rank in social order. I recommend that constitution as the best model to those who aspire to the enjoyments of the rights of man, and of all that political felicity compatible with our frail natures.

In nothing however, would we change our fundamental laws, were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that of the British parliament. We have divided, as the Americans have done, the national representation into two houses, that of the representatives and the senate. The first is wisely composed, it enjoys all the privileges fitted for it, and is not susceptible of essential change, as the constitution has endowed it with the origin, form, and powers, required by the will of the people for being lawfully and competently represented.

If the senate in place of being elective were hereditary, it would in my conception be the basis, the bond, and the soul of the republic, and in political storms it would possess the functions of government, and would resist popular commotions. Attached to the government by the powerful excitement of its own preservation, it would ever oppose the attempts the people might make against the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. It must be confessed, that most men are ignorant of their true interests, and are continually attacking them in the hands of those to whom they are committed—the individual contends against the general mass, and the general mass against authority, and it is therefore necessary that a neutral body should exist in all governments to protect the injured, and disarm the offender. This neutral body, in order that it may be such, ought neither to derive its

origin from the choice of the government, nor from that of the people, but in such wise that it may enjoy complete independence, neither fearing nor hoping any thing from either of those sources of authority. An hereditary senate as a part of the people would participate in its interests, in its opinions, and in its spirit, and for that reason it is not presumed, that an hereditary senate will separate from the interests of the people, and forget its legislative duties. The senators in Rome, and the peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political liberty.

These senators will, for the first time, be elected by the congress, and their successors in the senate will occupy the principal attention of the government, which will cause them to be educated in a college especially set apart for the instruction of those future guardians and legislators of the country. They will be taught the arts, the sciences, and every thing that can adorn the mind of a public man; from their earliest infancy they will be acquainted with the career destined them by Providence, and from their most tender years their souls will be elevated to the dignity awaiting them.

In no manner whatever would the creation of an hereditary senate be a violation of political equality; it is not a nobility I wish to establish, because that, as has been said by a celebrated republican, would be to destroy at once equality and liberty. It is an office for which candidates ought to be prepared, and is also an office requiring extensive knowledge, and proportionate means for attaining it.

In elections every thing ought not to be left to chance and hazard, for the public is easier deceived than nature perked by art, and although it be a fact, that these Senators will not proceed from the womb of virtue, it is equally true, that they will come forth endowed with a most finished education. The Liberator of Venezuela are moreover entitled to hold forever a high rank in the Republic, which is indebted to them for existence, and I do believe that posterity would observe with regret the extinction of the illustrious names of its first benefactors. I will say further, that it is for the public interest, that it is for the National honour, and that it is due from the gratitude of Venezuela, to preserve in honor to the latest posterity, a race of virtuous, prudent, and valiant men, who overcoming every obstacle have established the Republic at the expense of the most heroic sacrifices; and, if the People of Venezuela do not applaud and rejoice at the elevation of its benefactors, they are unworthy to be free, and never will be so.

An hereditary Senate, I say again, will be the fundamental basis of the Legislative Power, and consequently the basis of the whole government. It will act equally as a counterpoise to the Government, and the People, and will be an intermediate authority to deaden the arrows which those perpetual rivals are constantly shooting at each other.

In all contests the interpositions of a third person becomes the means of reconciliation, and thus will the Senate of Venezuela be the cement of the delicate edifice so liable to violent concussions. It will be the means of calming the fury and maintaining the harmony betwixt the Members and the Head of this political body. Nothing can corrupt a Legislative body invested with the highest honours, dependent on itself alone, without fearing any thing from the people or expecting any thing from Government whose only object is to repress every tendency to evil, and to encourage every attempt at good, and which is deeply interested in the ex-

istence of a society with which it shares adversity and prosperity.

It has been most justly remarked, that the British House of Peers is invaluable to the nation, as forming a bulwark to the Liberties of the People; and I dare add, that the Senate of Venezuela will not only be a bulwark to Liberty, but a help to render the Republic perpetual.

The Executive power in Great Britain is invested with all the Sovereign Authority fitted to it, but it is also circumscribed by a triple line of ditches, barriers, and palisades. The Sovereign is indeed the head of the Government, but his ministers and officers depend more on the laws than on his authority, because they are personally responsible, and from that responsibility not even royal authority can exempt them. He is commander in chief of the army and navy, he makes peace and declares war, but it is the parliament alone which votes annually the supplies. For neutralizing his power, the person of the King is inviolable and sacred; whilst his head is left free, his hands are bound. The Sovereign of Britain has three formidable rivals, the Cabinet which is responsible to the people and to Parliament; the House of Peers, which protects the interests of the People, as representing the nobility of which it is composed; and the House of Commons, the organ of the British public; as the judges are moreover responsible for the due fulfilment of the laws, they adhere strictly to them, and the administrators of the public money being accountable not only for their own violation of duty but even for what the government may do, guard against misapplication.

The more the nature of the Executive Power in Britain is examined, the more will you be inclined to think it the most perfect model for either a monarchy an aristocracy, or a democracy. In Venezuela let the executive power be exercised by a President, appointed by the people or their representatives, and we shall then have taken a long stride towards national felicity.

Whoever the citizen may be that may fill that situation, he will be supported by the Constitution; authorised to do good, he cannot do evil, for submitting to the laws his ministers will co-operate with him, and should he on the contrary attempt to infringe them, his own ministers will leave him insulated in the midst of the republic, and will even impeach him to the Senate. The ministers being responsible for such offences as may be committed are the persons that govern, and it is not the least advantage of the system, that those more immediately exercising the functions of the Executive Power, take an interesting and active part in the deliberations of the government and consider their duties as personal.

It may happen that the President may not be a man of great talents or virtues, and notwithstanding the want of those essential qualities he may still perform the duties of his situation in a satisfactory manner, because in such case the ministry doing every thing itself, bears the burthen of the State. However exorbitant the authority of Executive Power in Great Britain may appear, it would not perhaps be too great in the republic of Venezuela; here the congress has bound both the hands and heads of the magistrates, and has assumed a portion of the Executive functions, contrary to the maxim of Montesquieu, who says, that a representative body ought not to take upon itself any active principle; it ought to make laws and see those executed which it does make. Nothing is so dangerous to a people

as a weak Executive, and if it has been deemed necessary to endow it with so many attributes in a monarchy, how infinitely more indispensable would it be in a republic. Let us fix our attention to this difference, and we shall find that the equilibrium of power ought to be distributed in two ways. In a Republic the Executive ought to be the strongest, because every thing conspires against it; and on the other hand, in a monarchy the Legislative ought to be the most powerful, as every thing unites in favor of the Sovereign. The veneration, which people bear for a regal magistracy, is a proof of its influence in augmenting the superstitious respect paid to that species of authority; The splendor of the throne, crown and purple, the formidable support given by the nobility, the immense riches acquired by generations of the same dynasty, and the fraternal protection afforded by kings to each other, are considerable advantages militating in favor of royal authority, and render it almost unlimited. Those very advantages are a reason why a Republican Magistrate should be endowed with greater power than that possessed by a constitutional prince.

A republican magistrate is an insulated individual in the midst of society, entrusted with the duty of curbing the impetus of the people towards licentiousness, and the propensity of judges and administrators to an abuse of the laws. Such a one, with regard to the legislative body, the senate, and the people, is a single individual resisting the combined attack of the opinions, the interests, and the passions of society, which, according to what Carnot says, is constantly striving betwixt the desire of governing and that of not being subject to any authority. He is in short one atlas opposed to a multitude of others. The only corrective to such weakness is a vigorous and suitable resistance to the opposition made to the executive power by the legislative body and people of a republic. If the Executive do not possess the means of exercising all the authority properly placed at its disposal, it becomes null, and the government expires, leaving anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny as its heirs and successors.

Let the whole system of government, therefore, be strengthened, and the equilibrium established in such a manner, that it cannot be overturned, or its refinement become a cause of decay. As no form of government is so weak as a democracy, its constitution ought to be as solid as possible, and its institutions conducive to stability. If such be not the case, we may reckon on having only a government on trial, and not a permanent system; and, on having a wavering, tumultuous, and anarchical community, and not a social establishment in which happiness, peace and justice reign.

Legislators!—Let us not be presumptuous, but moderate in our pretensions. It is by no means likely that we can do what has never yet been accomplished by any of the human race, what the greatest and wisest nations have never effected.—Undefined liberty, and absolute democracy are the rocks on which republican hopes and expectations have been wrecked.

Take a view of the republics of antiquity, of those of modern times, and of those rising into existence, and you will find, that almost all have been frustrated in their attempts. The men who aim at legitimate institutions and social perfection, are undoubtedly deserving of every praise; but, who can say that mankind possess complete wisdom, or that they practise all the virtues which the union of power and justice imperatively demand? Angels,

and not men, can only exist free, peaceable, and happy, in the exercise of sovereign power.

Whilst the people of Venezuela exercise the rights they lawfully enjoy—let us moderate the excessive pretensions which an incompetent form of government might suggest—and let us give up that federal system which does not suit us—let us clear off the triumvirate executive power, and center it in one President—and let us commit to him sufficient authority to enable him to resist the inconveniences arising from our recent situation, from the state of warfare we have been suffering under, and from the kind of foreign and domestic enemies we have had to deal with, and with whom we shall still have to contend for a length of time. Let the legislative power resign the attributes belonging to the executive, and acquire nevertheless fresh consistency, and fresh influence in the equilibrium of authority. Let the courts of justice be reformed by the permanency and independence of the judges, by the establishment of juries, and of civil and criminal codes, not dictated by antiquity nor by conquering kings, but by the voice of nature, by the cry of justice, and by the genius of wisdom.

It is my anxious wish, that every part of the government and administration, should acquire that degree of vigor, which can alone sustain a due equilibrium not simply amongst the members of the government, but even amongst the various ranks of which society is composed. It would not signify, were the springs of political system to be relaxed, if that relaxation did not occasion the dissolution of the social body, and the ruin of those associated.—The cries of the human race in the field of battle and in tumultuous assemblies, appeal to Heaven against those inconsiderate and blind Legislators, who have thought they could with impunity make trials of chimerical institutions. All the nations on earth have sought after liberty, some by arms, and others by laws, passing alternately from anarchy to despotism, or from despotism to anarchy, but very few have been satisfied with moderate attainments, or adopted constitutions conformable to their means, nature, and circumstances.

Let us not attempt what is impossible, least by endeavoring to rise too high in the regions of liberty, we fall into the abyss of tyranny. From absolute liberty there is always a descent to absolute power, and the medium betwixt the two extremes is supreme social liberty. Abstract ideas give rise to the pernicious idea of unlimited liberty. Let us so act, that the power of the people be restrained within the limits pointed out by reason and interest; that the national will be curbed by a just authority; and that a civil and criminal legislation, analogous to our constitution, govern imperatively the judicial power; in which case an equilibrium will exist, and those differences and discords avoided which would embarrass the concerns of state, as well as that species of complication which shackles instead of uniting society.

To form a staple government, a national feeling is required possessing a uniform inclination towards two principal points, regulating public will, and limiting public authority, the bounds of which are difficult to be assigned, but it may be supposed that the best rule for our direction, is reciprocal restriction and concentration, so that there may be the least friction possible betwixt legitimate will and legitimate power.

Love of country, laws, and magistrates, ought to be the ruling passion in the breast of every republican. Venezuelans love their country but not its

laws, because they are bad, and the source of evil, and as little could they respect their magistrates, as the old ones were wicked, and the new ones are hardly known in the career they have commenced. If a sacred respect does not exist for country, laws, and constituted authorities, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict of man with man, and of body with body.

To save our incipient republic from such a chaos, all our moral powers will be insufficient, unless we melt the whole people down into one mass; the legislation is a whole, and national feeling is a whole. Unity, unity, unity, ought to be our device.

The blood of our citizens is various, let us mix it to make it one; our constitution has divided authority, let us agree to unite it: our laws are the sad remains of all ancient and modern despotisms, let the monstrous structure be demolished, let it fall, and withdrawing from its ruins, let us erect a temple to justice, and under the auspices of its sacred influence, let us dictate a code of Venezuelan laws. Should we wish to consult records and models of legislation—Great Britain, France, and North America, present us with admirable ones.

Popular education ought to be the first care of the Congress' paternal regard. Morals and knowledge are the cardinal points of a republic, and morals and knowledge are what we most want.

Let us take from Athens her Areopagus, and the guardians of customs and laws; let us take from Rome her censors and domestic tribunals, and forming a holy alliance of those moral institutions—let us renew on earth the idea of a people not contented with being free and powerful, but which desires also to be virtuous.

Let us take from Sparta her austere establishments, and form from those three springs a reservoir of virtue.

Let us give our republic a fourth power with authority to preside over the infancy and hearts of men—public spirit, good habits, and republican morality. Let us constitute this Areopagus to watch over the education of youth and national instruction, to purify whatever may be corrupt in the Republic; to impeach ingratitude, egotism, luke-warmness in the Country's cause, sloth and idleness—and to pass judgment on the first germs of corruption and pernicious example.

We should correct manners with moral pain, the same as the Law punishes crime with corporal, not only what may offend, but what may ridicule; not only what may assault, but what may weaken, and not only what may violate the Constitution, but whatever may infringe on public decency.

The jurisdiction of this really sacred tribunal ought to be effective in every thing regarding education and instruction, and only deliberative as to pains and punishments; and thus its annals and records, in which will be inscribed its acts and deliberations, and the moral principles and actions of citizens, will be the registers of virtue and vice. Registers which the people will consult in their elections, the magistrate in their determinations, and the judges in decisions. Such an institution, however chimerical it may appear, is infinitely easier to realise, than others of less utility to mankind established by some ancient and modern legislators.

Legislators!—By the project of the constitution, which I respectfully submit to your consideration, you will discover the feeling by which it was dictated.

In proposing the division of our citizens into active and passive, I have endeavoured to excite Na-

tional prosperity by industry's two great springs—labour and knowledge. Stimulated by those two powerful causes, the greatest difficulties may be overcome, and men made respectable and happy.

In imposing equitable and prudent restrictions on the primary and electoral assemblies, the first barrier is opposed to popular licentiousness, and thereby those injurious and tumultuous meetings, avoided, which at all times have given rise to prejudicial consequences in the election, and which have of course been entailed on the Magistrates and the government, as the primordial act is generative of either the liberty or slavery of a people.

By increasing in the balance of power the weight of the Congress, by the number of Legislators and the nature of the Senate, a fixed basis is bestowed on this primary body of the Nation, and it is invested with great importance for the exercise of its sovereign functions.

In separating distinctly the Executive from the Legislative power, it is not intended to sow division betwixt those Supreme authorities, but to unite them with those bonds of harmony which proceed from independence.

In investing the Executive with a power and authority much exceeding what it hitherto possessed, it is by no means intended to enable a despot to tyrannise over the Republic, but to prevent deliberative despotism becoming the immediate cause of a round of despotic changes, in which anarchy would be alternately replaced by oligarchy and monarchy.

In soliciting the independence of judges, the establishment of Juries, and a new code, the security of civil liberty is requested, the most estimable, the most equitable, the most necessary, and in one word the only Liberty, as without it, all others are a nullity. An amendment is asked of the lamentable abuses in our judicature, and which derive their origin from the filthy sink of Spanish legislation, collected in various ages, and from various sources, equally from the productions of folly, and of talent, equally the fruit of good sense, and of extravagance, and equally the memorial of genius and of caprice. That judicial Encyclopædia, that monster with ten thousand heads, which has hitherto been a rod of punishment to Spanish nations, is the fiercest calamity the anger of Heaven ever permitted that unfortunate empire to be afflicted with.

Meditating on the most efficient mode of regenerating the character and habits, which tyranny and war have given us, I have dared to suggest a moral power, drawn from the remote ages of antiquity, and those obsolete laws, which for some time maintained public virtue amongst the Greeks and Romans, and although it may be considered a mere whim of fancy, it is possible, and I flatter myself, that you will not altogether overlook an idea, which when meliorated by experience and knowledge, may prove of the greatest efficacy.

Terrified at the disunion which has hitherto existed, and must exist amongst us from the subtle spirit characterising the federative system, I have been induced to solicit you to adopt the concentration and union of all the States of Venezuela into one Republic, one and indivisible. A measure in my opinion, urgent, vital, and saving, and of such a nature that without it, the fruit of our regeneration would be destruction.

It is my duty, Legislators, to present to you a just and faithful picture of my political, civil, and military administration, but to do so would tire your valuable attention too much, and rob you at this

moment of time equally precious and pressing, and the Secretaries of State will therefore give an account to the Congress of their various departments, and exhibit at the same time those documents and records necessary to illustrate every thing, and to make you thoroughly acquainted with the real and actual state of the Republic.

I will not notice the most momentous acts of my command, although they concern most of my countrymen, and will call your attention only to the last memorable revolution. Horrid, atrocious, and impious slavery, covered with her sable mantle the land of Venezuela, and our atmosphere lowered with the dark gloomy clouds of the tempest, threatening a fiery deluge. I implored the protection of the God of nature, and at his Almighty word, the storm was dispelled. The day-star of liberty rose, slavery broke her chains, and Venezuela was surrounded with new and with grateful sons, who turned the instruments of her thralldom & bondage, into arms of freedom. Yes! those who were formerly slaves, are now free, those who were formerly the enemies of our country, are now its defenders.

I leave to your sovereign authority the reform or repeal of all my ordinances, statutes, and decrees, but I implore you to confirm the complete emancipation of the slaves, as I would beg my life, or the salvation of the republic.

To exhibit the military history of Venezuela, would be to bring to our recollection the history of republican heroism amongst the ancients; it would shew that Venezuela had made as brilliant sacrifices on the sacred altar of liberty. The noble hearts of our generous warriors, have been filled with those sublime and honorable feelings, which have ever been attributed to the benefactors of the human race. Not fighting for power or fortune, nor even glory, but for liberty alone; the title of Liberator of the Republic has been their highest recompense, having, in forming an association of those gallant heroes, instituted the order of Liberator of Venezuela—*Legislators!* To you it belongs to confer honours and decorations, and it is your duty to exercise that act of national gratitude.

Men who have given up all the benefits and advantages they formerly enjoyed as a proof of their virtue and disinterestedness—men who have undergone every thing horrible in a most inhuman war, suffering the most painful privations and the cruellest anguish—men so deserving of their country, merit the attention of government; and I have therefore given directions to recompense them out of the national property.

If I have acquired any portion of merit in the eyes of my countrymen, I entreat you, Representatives, to vouchsafe my petition as the reward of my feeble services, and let the Congress order a distribution of the national property, conformable to the ordinance I passed in the name of the Republic, in favor of the military sons of Venezuela.

After our having in a succession of victories destroyed the Spanish armies, the court of Madrid in despair, vainly endeavoured to take by surprise the feelings of those magnanimous sovereigns, who had just extirpated usurpation and tyranny in Europe, and who ought to protect the legitimacy and justice of the cause of America. Spain unable to reduce us to submission by dint of arms, had recourse to her insidious policy, and tried every perfidious art. Ferdinand humbled himself so far as to confess, that without the assistance of foreign aid, he could not force us back under his ignominious yoke; a yoke which no mortal power can oblige us to submit to.

Venezuela convinced that she is in possession of sufficient strength to repel her oppressors, has declared through the organ of government, her fixed and final determination to fight to annihilation in defence of her political life, not only against Spain, but even against the universe, should the universe be so degraded as to assume the party of a destructive government, whose only objects are an exterminating sword, and the shrieks of the inquisition—a government that desires not fertile regions, but deserts—no cities, but ruins—not subjects, but sepulchres. The declaration of the republic of Venezuela is the most glorious, the most heroic, and the most dignified act of a free people; and it is with peculiar satisfaction, I have the honor of laying it before congress, sanctioned as it is by the unanimous approbation of the free people of the land.

Since the second epoch of the republic, our armies wanted the necessities of war; they were constantly void of arms and ammunition, and were at all times badly equipped; but at present the brave defenders of independence are not only armed with justice, but with power, and our troops may rank with the choicest in Europe, now that they possess equal means of destruction.

For these important advantages, we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of some generous foreigners, who, hearing the groans of suffering humanity, and seeing the cause of freedom, reason, and justice, ready to sink, could not remain quiet but flew to our succour with their munificent aid and protection, and furnished the republic with every thing needful to cause their philanthropical principles to triumph. Those friends of mankind are the guardian geniuses of America, and to them we owe a debt of eternal gratitude, as well as a religious fulfilment of the several obligations contracted with them. The national debt, Legislators, is the deposit of the good faith, the honor and the gratitude of Venezuela: respect it as the holy ark which encloses not only the rights of our benefactors, but the glory of our fidelity. Let us perish rather than fail in any the smallest point in the completion of those engagements, which have been the salvation of our country, and of the lives of her sons.

The union of New Grenada and Venezuela in one great state, has uniformly been the ardent wish of the people and governments of these republics. The fortune of war has effected this junction so much desired by every American, and in fact we are incorporated. These sister-nations have entrusted to you their interests, rights and destinies. In contemplating the union of this immense district, my mind rises with delight to the stupendous height necessary for viewing properly so wonderful a picture.

Flying from present and approaching times; my imagination plunges into future ages in which I observe with admiration and amazement, the prosperity, the splendour, and the animation, which this vast region will have acquired;—my ideas are wafted on, and I see my beloved native land in the center of the universe expanding herself on her extensive coasts between those oceans, which nature has separated, and which our country will have united with large and capacious canals. I see her the bond, the center, and the emporium of the human race; I see her transmitting to earth's remotest bounds, those treasures contained in her mountains of gold and silver; I see her distributing by her salutiferous plants, health and life to the afflicted of the old world; I see her imparting to the sages of other regions her inestimable secrets, ignorant until then, how

much her height of knowledge transcends her excessive wealth.—Yes! I see her seated on the throne of freedom, wielding the sceptre of justice, and crowned with glory, shew the old world the majesty of the new.

FOREIGN.

GREAT BRITAIN.

George Dorlen, Esq. has been chosen governor, and Charles Pole, Esq. deputy-governor of the Band of England.

The Bank restriction bill for the Bank of Ireland, went through all its stages in the House of Lords on the 7th of April, and received the Royal assent.

The expence for the last three years, for the transportation of convicts to New South Wales and its dependencies, and the establishments there, was

In 1816,	216,291 <i>l</i>	8 <i>s</i> .	7 1-2 <i>d</i> .
1817,	232,585	9	6 1-2
1818,	178,930	19	4 1-4

The whole expence for the last year, not yet known.

The Liverpool Mercury says, that the Duke of Wellington refused to present to the House of Lords the Anti-Catholic petition of the corporation of Dublin.

In a late publication by Capt. Ross, commander of the Discovery Ships, it is stated, that when the ships were in lat. 75, 12, in certain states of the sun, objects at the distance of 150 miles were distinctly visible.

A Liverpool paper of the 17th of April states, that gloomy accounts were received by the last mail from the manufacturing districts. "At Leicester, for the last ten days, 5000 persons are represented as being out of employ."

The Star, of April 12, says, "the health of our aged king has undergone a change for the worse, within these few days."

Admiral Griffith sailed from Portsmouth on the 9th April, for the Halifax station.

Jerome Bonaparte has obtained leave to reside at Vienna.

Lieutenant Thomas Hasker and Ensign Edward Ring, of the 55th Regt. have been erased from the Army list, for sending a challenge to Lieut. Col. Frederick, commander of that regiment.

The Archbishop of Jerusalem, was to leave England on the 19th of April. He had collected for the object of his mission 430*l* sterling.

The Sheerness bank has stopped payment. A London paper says, many persons will suffer; it being the only bank in that part of the country.

There is a prospect of an abundant harvest in England, the wheat in particular was never known to be so luxuriant.

The Russian government is fitting out two expeditions for scientific researches in remote seas. Each is to consist of two ships; one of them is designed to make discoveries towards the North Pole.

Prince Leopold is about to reside at Vienna.

Several Swiss families, Anabaptists, amounting to about sixty persons, are to embark immediately at Havre for America.

Two Buddhist, or Cingalese Priests, named Dherma Itama, and Munhi Rat Hana, who were brought to England by Sir Alexander Johnston, have been placed by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, under the care and tuition of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clark

IVORY PAPER. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, have given the sum of 30 guineas to Mr. Finsley, for the invention of ivory paper. This paper possesses a surface, having many of the valuable properties of ivory, and, at the same time, has the superior advantage of being obtained of a much greater size than ivory can possibly furnish, even nearly as large as the usual sheets of drawing paper.

ÆTHERIOSCOPE. Professor Leslie, of Edinburg, has invented an instrument called an ætherioscope for measuring the cold transmitted from the higher regions of the atmosphere into the lower. By this the relative temperature of remote and elevated, as well as of inaccessible parts, may be ascertained. The deduction already drawn from the use of the ætherioscope are, that cold pulses shoot downward from the sky, and warm pulses are sent upward from the heated air near the earth.

RUSSIA.

The bell recently cast at Moscow, to replace that which was formerly in the tower of Juan Weliki, in that city, weighs 7000 poods, or 252,000 lbs. English. The clapper weighs 120 poods.

PRUSSIA.

It is a curious fact, says a London paper, that the court Almanack, published at Berlin, by M. de Buch, designates Bonaparte as a Knight of the grand order of the Black Eagle.

GERMANY.

The German papers state that the assassin of M. de Kotzebue, is still living.

It is calculated that the population of Germany increases at the rate of 450,000 yearly. The present population of the Danish states is estimated at 1,862,000; namely, Denmark, 1,100,000, Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein 680,000, Duchy of Laueburg 30,000, Faroe Isles, &c. 52,000.

DOMESTIC.

Extra Session of the Maryland Legislature.—A petition to be presented to his excellency the Governor. That similar applications may be transmitted, from such sections of the state as may incline to promote the object, the public prints are requested to give it insertion.

To his excellency Charles Goldsborough, esq. governor of the State of Maryland.

The undersigned, inhabitants of Somerset county, most respectfully present the following causes for an early convention of the general assembly.

1st. That the productions of our agriculture, of our forests, and fisheries, the great staples of our passive commerce, are reduced in value to a most ruinous extent.

2. That a large proportion of our population and those of the most enterprising and industrious classes, are involved in debt, and although possessed of property, are utterly unable to discharge their obligations.

In order that the wisdom of the Legislature may be employed in affording relief—in shielding the

state from impending clouds of waste and desolation, they respectfully solicit that an extra session may be speedily called.

ILLEGAL SLAVE-DEALING.

At a Court of Quarter Sessions held in April last, for the County of Sussex, (Del.) Lemuel Tam was convicted of selling, for exportation, a manumitted slave, and sentenced by the court to pay the sum of \$500, the penalty enforced by the act of Assembly.

At the same term James Jones [who had been convicted at the Nov. term last] was sentenced by the court to pay the same sum of 500 dollars, for exporting a manumitted slave.

The penalties in the above cases will be paid by the defendants—*Del. Watch.*

PROGRESS OF MEDICINE.

We are furnished with a list of those physicians who graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, at the public commencement held on the 25th April. The result manifests the respect which the science of the lancet bears in the Old Dominion. The following are the numbers who have enlisted in the cause, from each state, &c.

Connecticut	2	Georgia	5
New Jersey	5	Kentucky	6
Pennsylvania	21	Tennessee	1
Delaware	3	Ohio	1
Maryland	3	Louisiana	1
Dist. of Columbia	2	Missouri Ter.	1
Virginia	37	Ireland	1
North Carolina	4	And Canada	1
South Carolina	8		

Is all one hundred and two graduates. Of these, Virginia claims more than one third! She has sixteen more than Pennsylvania herself, the seat of the University. She has as many as the nine highest on the list, with the exception of Pennsylvania, has, put together.—[*Compiler.*]

Connecticut.—The Legislature is in session, and appears to be busily engaged, this being the first session under the constitution.

A motion to repeal the law passed last year, to reduce the superior judges from nine to five, was rejected by the casting vote of the speaker. A committee had been raised to report on the expediency of levying a tax of one dollar on passengers passing through Connecticut, in *Steam Boats*—the proceeds of which, it had been proposed, should be appropriated to encourage agriculture, manufactures, and the cod and whale fisheries.

Among the private petitions read, was one from a Rev. Daniel Parker, praying to be exempted from arrest for debt for five years. He sets forth, that he had been a settled clergyman—had speculated—had become involved, and obliged to leave the state; and that during his exile he had been censured and expelled by his Ecclesiastical brethren: and that, wishing to return to demand a new trial, he solicited the exemption prayed for. The house rejected the application *unanimously*.

The House of Representatives, on Friday last, made choice of Messrs. S. T. Hosmer, J. T. Peters, Jea Chapman, J. C. Brainard, and Wm. Bristol, as judges of the superior court. The Senate made

choice of the same gentlemen, except Mr. Brainard, who is a federalist: in his place they elected Mr. Lanman. We have not learned which house has given up its candidate.

A bill has been before the Legislature authorising trial by jury before justices of the peace; which, however, was rejected.

Bills for the incorporation of a considerable number of cotton and woollen manufacturing companies, are before the Legislature.

New-York.—In this state it is yet uncertain which of the three parties has obtained a majority in the Legislature. Among the citizens elected to be State Senators at the recent election, is *Gideon Granger*, formerly postmaster-general. Among those elected to the House of Assembly, is *John C. Spencer*, a representative in the last Congress from that state.—*Nat. Int.*

PITTSBURG, May 25.—A most alarming fire burst out on Thursday afternoon last about 2 o'clock, at the arsenal in Lawrenceville, two miles from this place. The first intimation we received of this melancholy occurrence, was from a violent explosion, which by many was thought to be an earthquake, but the flames were soon after seen bursting from a part of the United States works. It proceeded from that part of the buildings which serves for a laboratory, in which some men were engaged in making rockets; it was caused by one of the persons driving a rocket too suddenly, which exploded in consequence, and soon communicated to what is called the composition room; where a great quantity of materials was prepared; the roof of the building was immediately blown off, and the whole building enveloped in flames. The prompt arrival of the citizens of Pittsburgh, and their efficient co-operation with the military, saved all the neighboring buildings; none were destroyed but those employed as a laboratory. A serious loss, however, we are informed occurred, in the burning of a large quantity of well seasoned timber. We have heard no estimate of the amount of the loss. The officer superintending the making of the rockets, is said to have displayed the greatest coolness and presence of mind, and only quitted the room when its destruction became inevitable. Major Woolley and all the officers, deserve much credit for the judicious and prompt exertions which they made to preserve this beautiful establishment. The citizens of Pittsburgh displayed their usual energy on the occasion.

Lancaster, Ohio, May 13.—A gentleman from Indiana, passed through this town on Monday last, on his way to Washington City, where he intends getting a patent for converting Wheat into Sugar, and Corn into Molasses; he had a sample of each with him, and they appear to be of equal quality with that made from the Maple. He informs us that one bushel of Wheat will make 15 pounds of Sugar: and one bushel of Corn will make three gallons of Molasses. He likewise informs us; that it takes less wood, water or labor, than the usual mode of making sugar from the Maple-tree.

A letter from an officer on board the U. S. ship *Hornet*, to his friend in this city, dated April 19, says, "The *Hornet* arrived, with Mr. Forsyth, at Cadiz, 14th April. There is very little news here: the public mind appears entirely engrossed with an expedition that is fitting out here for South Ameri-

ca. There are already 16,000 soldiers encamped, commanded by Gen. O'Donnel, who is of Irish extraction. He is very popular with his soldiers, who are, I am told, fine looking men, well clothed and fed. There are seven ships of the line, as many frigates, and several sloops of war, gun brigs, and schooners, lying at anchor doing nothing, while the Patriots are destroying their commerce. They are all in miserable order. The frigate *Diana* sailed, not long since, on a cruise of three days. She has not been heard of since. It is thought she is taken. We are not very popular at this place, owing, I presume, to the Florida business." *Nat. Int.*

FIRE. On Friday morning last, the dwelling house of Mr. Cummins, of Westford, was consumed by fire, and, melancholy to add, three small children, from one to four years old, were burnt to death. The circumstances were that Mr. C. was absent at Boston, and his wife was gone to put the cows to pasture, and on return, found the house in flames. The bodies of the little ones, after the fire was reduced, were found, and exhibited a most shocking and distressing spectacle.

EDITOR'S CABINET.

City of Washington, May 29th.

Paper Money, &c.—The paper-mongers and land speculators in the Western states are striving very hard to preserve themselves. But it is all in vain. They must come to their natural level. Town and county meetings and resolutions, will not coin money. Words will not alter the nature of things. You might as well declare war without either regular army, or navy, or militia, as to declare bank notes good money, without gold and silver to back them. Failure and ridicule must follow in either case. The land speculators, as well as all other sorts of speculators, must be brought down to their natural size and proportions; and they *will* be brought down. They might as well submit with a good grace, for they cannot help it. They have too long been deceivers in society. They were not, and are not, men of wealth; rich, substantial men. They have been counterfeiters, and, like all other counterfeiters, they should be stopped from passing for an undue value. We hear a great deal said, in the way of *compassion*, for the speculators who have failed and are failing. But do they deserve compassion? Are they, indeed, to be pitied? Not at all. It is the men of industry whom they have ruined who deserve compassion: the poor man, who has worked hard for his few dollars, and who finds them falling to half their value, and to nothing, who merits commiseration. What has happened in the price of the stock of the Bank of the United States has also happened in the price of Western Lands. Speculators bought vast quantities on credit, or for money

which they borrowed of the banks, and by a kind of hue and cry, of puffing and repuffing, they have got it up to an enormous price. Called upon to pay by the banks, they cannot do it. The banks, of course, cannot fulfil their engagements. Then come meetings, resolutions, tricks, contrivances, expedients, in abundance. All will not do. Come down they must. They have arrived at the dropsical stage of speculation, and they are thirsty for more paper money. But this is only a symptom of the intensity of the disease.—*They must be TAPPED.* Good people, take care of your hard dollars; hoard them; take care of them in any manner; for now comes the crisis. Here was a Baltimore paper, which, the other day, told a story of an old lady who offered to lend a few hundred dollars in specie to save a failing bank. And she was mightily praised for it. Poor lady! she had better take care of her dollars. And so had all those who do not wish to be drawn into the whirlpool of ruin which is now rapidly forming. When a bank is failing, to carry in your notes and ask for payment, is called treating the bank ill. Indeed! What right has any body corporate to trifle with the public by issuing notes which, at the time of issuing, it knows it will not be able to pay? It is the *public* that is treated ill, and not the bank. The only well-grounded hope which now exists for saving the country from utter confusion with regard to the currency, is the Bank of the United States. That bank, under a good direction, should be clung to by all the true friends of the Union. As for the others, they will save themselves as they can. A considerable number will, no doubt, survive the shock; but the mass will go, and with that mass away go the speculators.—What then! Where's the odds? The country will be better off. All the property, and money, and goods, and chattels, will still be *in the country*. Those who have got what they do not own, will have to give it up. And is not that all right, and just, and proper? The people in general will be much better off for it. There is a little jostling just now, as there is in an army when first routed; but every thing will fall into its proper place again. A few hundred land speculators, over-traded merchants, and self-over-reached bank jobbers, are not the people of the United States; yet they would fain persuade the world that because *they* are ruined, the nation is ruined. That would be a good joke, truly! They will soon find that the country can get on better without them, and that the people are quite able to take care of their own affairs.

FROM THE NEW-YORK EVENING POST, MAY 27.

Sir Philip Sidney said, as Addison tells us, that he never could read the old ballad of Chevy Chase, without feeling his heart beat within him, as at the sound of a trumpet. The following lines, which are to be ranked among the highest inspirations of the Muse, will suggest similar associations in the breast of the gallant American officer.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

When Freedom, from her mountain height,

Unfurled her standard to the air,

She tore the azure robe of night,

And set the stars of glory there!

She mingled with its gorgeous dyes

The milky baldrick of the skies,

And striped its pure celestial white

With streakings of the morning light;

Then, from his mansion in the sun,

She call'd her eagle bearer down,

And gave into his mighty hand

The symbol of her chosen land!

Majestic monarch of the cloud!

Who rear'st aloft thy regal form,

To hear the tempest, trumping loud,

And see the lightning-lances driven,

When stride the warriors of the storm,

And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven!

Child of the Sun! to thee 'tis given

To guard the banner of the free,

To hover in the sulphur smoke,

To ward away the battle stroke,

And bid its blendings shine afar,

Like rainbows on the cloud of war,

The harbingers of victory!

Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly,

The sign of hope and triumph high!

When speaks the signal trumpet-tone,

And the long line comes gleaming on,

(Ere yet the life-blood, warm and wet,

Has dim'd the glistening bayonet.)

Each soldier's eye shall brightly turn

To where thy meteor-glories burn,

And, as his springing steps advance,

Catch war and vengeance from the glance!

And when the cannon-mouthings loud

Heave in wild wreaths the battle shroud,

And gory sabres rise and fall,

There shall thy victor-glances glow,

And cowering foes shall sink beneath

Each gallant arm that strikes below

That lofty messenger of death.

Flag of the seas! on ocean's wave

Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave,

When Death, careering on the gale,

Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,

And frightened waves rush wildly back,

Before the broad-side's reeling rack,

The dying wanderer of the sea

Shall look, at once, to heaven and thee,

And smile to see thy splendours fly,

In triumph, o'er his closing eye.

Flag of the free hearts only home,

By angel hands to valor given!

Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,

And all thy hues are born in Heaven!

For ever float that standard sheet!

Where breathes the foe but falls before us?

With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,

And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?

CROAKER & CO.